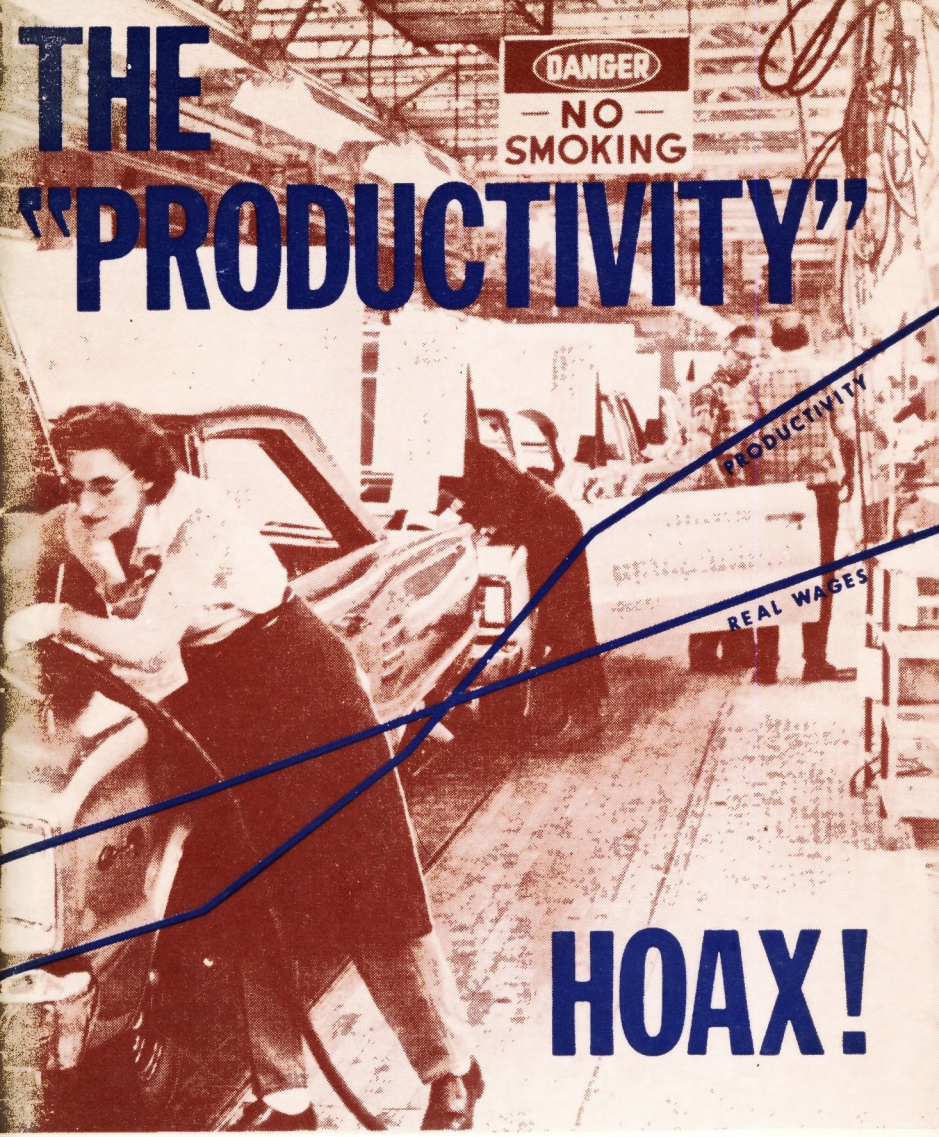
THE "PRODUCTIVITY" HOAX!



-AND AUTO WORKERS' REAL NEEDS!

65¢

A PROGRAM FOR AUTO WORKERS

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— AND AUTO WORKERS' REAL NEEDS!

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INTRODUCTION

UAW President Leonard Woodcock, in his presentation to General Motors opening up the 1970 contract negotiations, stressed the union's goal of a non-inflationary settlement.

No conceivable settlement could be inflationary.

He also indicated a desire to arrive at a contract mutually satisfactory to both parties.

This may be good diplomacy for the news men.

But no contract can be satisfactory both to General Motors and its workers.

The gap between the interests of the auto workers and the owners of the giant corporations is wide and deep. It will never be bridged so long as the companies are privately owned and part of a capitalist social structure. It can be papered over in a contract, but do not step heavily on the paper lest you fall into the abyss.

The strength of labor, the progress of labor, has depended on its own organization, its muscle, the activity of the millions of its members. The corporations never stop pressing and scheming for advantage over labor. Workers always lose

ground when they drop the day to day vigilance and readiness to hold up their own end.

In this pamphlet, we bring out the hidden truth about the auto industry, its workers and their employers. We give our suggestions for an all-around program which would meet the immediate and long-term needs of the auto workers. We give the facts and logic which call for such a program.

Our program for the auto industry may sound radical. But in this pamphlet we will show how it is fully justified, at every point. It is based on the research of economists, the know-how of auto workers, the experience of political leaders. It is a tight job, welded with the torch of a science. That is the science of Marxism-Leninism, which we Communists use; the science which has proved out in every crucial turn of history in this century.

It is not pie-in-the-sky. It is a program that auto workers can win quickly. And it fits into a long-range picture of all-the-way people's victory that will make America all that it is supposed to be, and then some. Our program is pitched to this year's struggle with the Big Three. It is also pitched to the longer-range future.

And the facts in this pamphlet will help steer a winning course for years to come.

We will show that auto workers should get *immediately* wage increases *several times larger* than the largest figure that has been mentioned publicly.

We will show just how profitable overtime is to the companies, and how harmful to the workers. We will suggest a program for getting rid of overtime in ways that increase workers' income, instead of cutting out the extra margin of income necessary for a decent standard of living.

We will indicate what is necessary to restore the worker's dignity as a human being on the job, from ending the no-strike clause to providing elementary health and safety measures.

We will spell out what is needed for the union nationally and locally to stop toying at the fringes of the discrimina-

tion problem; to meet this problem of problems head-on and lick it.

We will give practical suggestion on how to deal with the runaway shop program, with the closing down of whole factories and departments, on how to achieve meaningful alliance with overseas workers of the multinational corporations.

We will tell what is necessary to achieve real democracy in the UAW, how to release the union-building potential of hundreds of thousands of members.

We will explain why auto workers, too, are deeply interested in joining with all working people in fighting for peace, democracy, against oppression and racism, for far-reaching budgetary and tax reform in the country.

We see working class power and socialism as the only, and certain, long-term solution to the peoples' problems. So, finally, we show its concrete advantages for auto workers.

That is a brief summary of what our program is about. The full details begin on page 54. You will see that it follows logically from what goes before.

ERRATUM

On p. 15--under heading
HOW THE PROFITS ARE DIVIDED UP,
on fourth line, the figure
should be $15,000 instead of
$17,000.

THE AUTO WORKERS

Auto workers are overworked and underpaid. High pressure operations and long hours of overtime wreck a man's health and shorten his life. The ballyhooed "high wages" leave a family in a constant rat race to catch up to soaring prices and taxes.

Auto workers are exploited by monopolies. Their labor creates billions in profits for those who own and control the corporations. General Motors takes more profits than any other industrial corporation. The workers of the Big Three create more values than those of any three other industrial corporations.

Auto workers are under an industrial dictatorship. Company rules aim at military discipline in the plant, reach out to regulate workers' private lives and interfere with their political rights. Supervisors and foremen often act like prison guards. Workers have little recourse against arbitrary punishment. The grievance procedure is intolerably prolonged and largely ineffective. United strike action is hindered by contract restrictions.

Auto workers have no job security. Seasonal layoffs occur yearly. Permanent cyclical layoffs occur every few years. Plants are closed down as employers move to places where wages and taxes are lower. Employers maneuver to get rid of workers nearly due for retirement pensions.

Young workers are speeded up more, paid less, laid off more. Their living costs are higher as they try to start families, buy houses and cars at inflated prices. They often lack SUB protection.

Black workers suffer the worst of all these worlds. Beginning with Ford fifty years ago, the companies have hired

Black workers for the toughest jobs at the lowest pay. From the Ford foundries, mass employment of Black workers has spread throughout the industry. Everywhere there is rank discrimination—in promotion, job security, classification, income, health and safety conditions, treatment by supervisors, and in housing near the plants.

Auto companies usually dominate government in the main production areas. Together with other giant corporations, they control the national government. They obtain government assistance to combat the workers. They incite racism among white workers. They stir up hostility among workers along lines of race, politics, skill, age, and sex. These industrial emperors know well the policy "divide and rule."

Auto manufacturers went multinational before the word was invented. Since World War II they have "followed the flag" of U.S. foreign bases with multiplied foreign investments. Export sales of cars made by U.S. workers dwindle. Imports of foreign-made cars and parts soar, increasingly from plants wholly or partly owned by the Big Three.

Thirty-five years ago the auto workers, through years of bitter struggle and sacrifice, won the creation of a mass trade union. They forced the employers to recognize and bargain with their union. Through the union the workers have won real gains. The UAW is one of the country's largest unions. It is better than most. It is more democratic than most.

But its leaders whittled down principles on which its strength was based. They gave up the right to strike against company arbitrariness. They gave the employers the right to force compulsory overtime, and yielded other vital contract protections. They refuse to admit Black workers to an appropriate share of leadership. They too passively accept discrimination in industry and industry towns. They discourage rank-and-file initiative—that force which created the union and gave it strength. They took over the employers' favorite weapon of anti-Communism, and used it to drive from leadership the most militant and effective organizers.

Despite these shortcomings, the UAW leadership is one of the better groups of American trade union leaders. Today it generally follows policies aimed at strengthening labor's position nationally and internationally, in advancing the cause of peace. But it must be strengthened for the tasks ahead. Above all, the organization and activity of the rank and file must be strengthened and multiplied rapidly.

In 1970 auto workers confront the employers in a fateful struggle. Its outcome depends on the maximum activity of the rank and file, on the maximum of principled unity within the union. Nor will the struggles of auto workers end in 1970. There is a long way to go. The same requirements for success will remain.

The million American auto workers are part of the great American working class of 70 million, and part of the world working class, the more than half a billion men and women who work for wages and salaries.

This labor army is the decisive force of our century. It is a force for peace and progress. National and international unity of labor is the key to success.

Further on in this pamphlet we examine the causes of auto workers' problems. We spell out our proposals for dealing with them, and show the way towards a long-term solution.

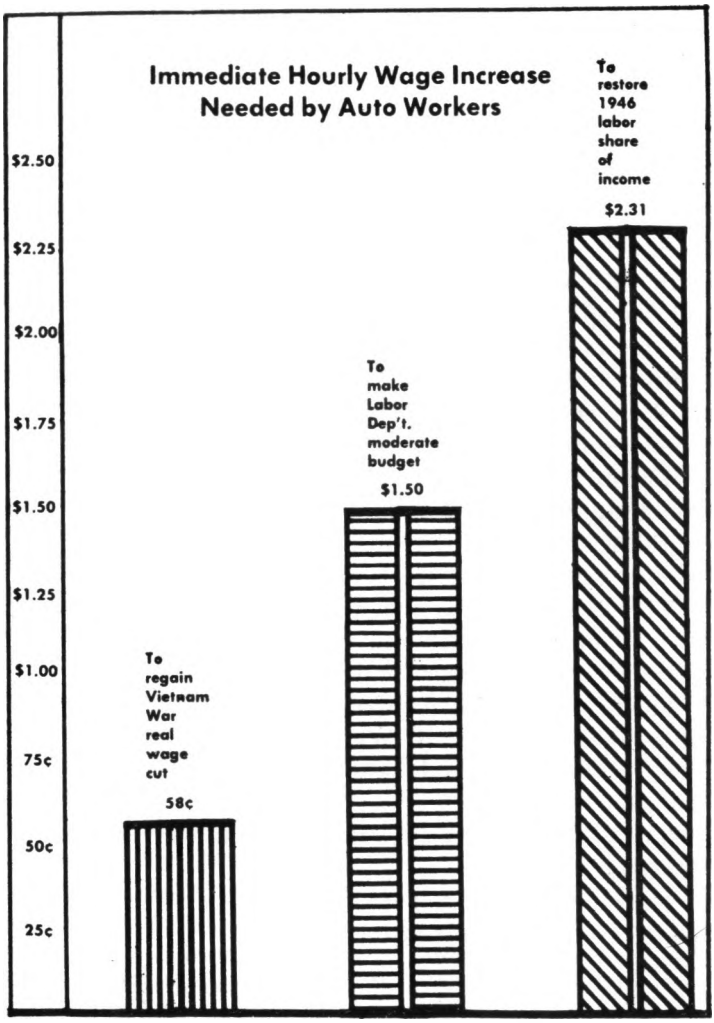
The key issue of issues in the 1970 auto workers' struggle is wages.

Here are the essential facts to remember when the companies try to force a cheap settlement:

1. Merely to recover cuts in real wages suffered during the Vietnam War, an immediate increase of 58¢ an hour is necessary.

2. Merely to bring the average auto worker up to the Labor Department budget for a moderate living standard requires an immediate increase of $1.50 an hour.

3. Merely to bring the auto workers up to receiving the same share of the value they produce as in 1946 requires an immediate wage increase of $2.31 an hour, or 55%.



VIETNAM WAR WAGE CUTS

During the Vietnam War the auto workers have suffered *wage cuts.* These have been especially rapid during the Nixon presidency. Not since Hoover was president have American auto workers suffered such wage cuts.

The cuts have been partly in actual money. But they have been more in real wages—after higher prices and taxes.

In 1965, the first year of the Vietnam War, the average take-home pay of auto workers, expressed in dollars of 1970 purchasing power, was $154.51.

In 1968, the last year before Nixon, the average take-home pay of auto workers, expressed in 1970 dollars, was $152.50.

In the first quarter of 1970, after a little more than a year of Nixon, and five years of the Vietnam War, the average take-home pay of auto workers, expressed in 1970 dollars, was $136.04.

That's a loss of $18.47 per week over the last five years. It's a loss of $16.46 since Nixon took office.

To get back the losses of the last five years, the auto workers would have to get an immediate increase of $23.17 per week, which would leave a take-home gain of $18.47 per week after tax withholding.

Thus, merely to restore the wage cut, the auto workers have to start in with an increase of $23.17 per week, or 58 cents per hour.

Any contract settlement in 1970 providing for less than 58¢ per hour of immediate wage increase will leave the auto workers still suffering from a real long-term wage cut!

AUTO WORKERS ARE UNDERPAID

Employer spokesmen say auto workers are "high-paid," almost "labor aristocrats." Nixon's mythical "silent majority" is supposed to believe it. But it is bunk.

Auto production workers averaged $171 per week, *including 4.2 hours of overtime,* in 1969. That comes to $8,900 for a full 52-week year. But a large proportion of workers do not get 52 weeks on the payroll. At least one-fourth are laid off for varying periods. Others have to take extended sick leave, often because of industrial illness or injury. Tens of thousands are forced to strike to defend their elementary human rights. In the first half of 1970, average weekly earnings were lower than in 1969.

Thus in 1970, average annual earnings, allowing for layoffs, are not more than $8,000.

The U.S. Labor Department prices a "moderate" stand-

ard of living for a family of four. This tightly drawn budget allows little for vacations, frills, accidents, emergencies. It is far from providing the Hollywood picture of "middle-class" America.

In the spring of 1969, that budget averaged $10,263, ranging from a few hundred dollars less in some auto centers to a thousand dollars more in the New York area. In 1970, owing to higher prices and taxes, that same budget averages $11,000. Most auto workers do not make it.

Here is the average picture for 1970:

Cost of a "moderate" family budget	$11,000
Annual earnings, allowing for lost time	$ 8,000
Shortage	$ 3,000

Thus, the average auto worker falls short by $3,000!

To make it, he would need a 37½% increase right away —$1.50 an hour for 2,000 hours a year!

That's why so many workers feel they have to moonlight.

That's why so many wives with small children have to work.

But that's not the worst of it.

The Labor Department also publishes a low living standard budget. It's for a privation standard, on the border of poverty. It averaged $6,673 in the spring of 1969, and about $7,200 in 1970.

About one quarter of all auto workers, and half of all Black workers, are paid at about that rate, or a little less. They barely make the privation standard, or come close to it, *if they are lucky enough to be employed all year around.* But the workers at the low end of the pay scale are most subject to layoffs. Many of them fall below the poverty boundary.

With 1970's mass layoffs and soaring costs, at least 100,000 auto workers fall below the poverty level. That means loss of needed cars through repossession. It means not enough warm clothing for the school children. It means a pinched diet. It means scrounging for an extra job at miserable pay. It means *nothing* left over for recreation or travel.

The Labor Department also publishes the cost of a "high" living standard, covering what is usually called the typical "middle-class" American way of life. It ran about $15,000 in 1969. The average skilled craft auto worker earned $12,000. This provided a narrow margin of safety above the "moderate" standard, but fell far behind the "high" standard. And thousands of craftsmen have been pushed out or are threatened with complete loss of jobs through automation.

So much for the myth of "high-paid auto workers."

AUTO COSTS AND PROFITS

Who gets what out of the production of an automobile? The National Industrial Conference Board, an ultra-reactionary group of big business, provides an answer. It is contained in The Conference Board Record of November, 1967.

Meant to be read only by corporate officials, the article in this magazine shows up the customary employer claim of "high wages" and "low profits."

In 1957, writes the author, Morton Ehrlich, the average passenger car sold at a retail price of $2,724.13. The auto factory employees, blue and white collar combined, got only $248.86 out of this—or a mere 9 cents on the consumer's dollar. Capitalists took in profits, interest, and rent out of the factory operation $180.40. There was a net retail margin of $427.66 divided between the dealer's profit and his salesmen's commission.

In 1966 the average passenger car sold for $2,985.10, about 10% more than in the earlier year. But the auto worker got $247.14 out of it, or a dollar less. Profits at the factory level were up $55 to $235.44, and the net retail margin for the dealer and his salesmen was up by about $52 to $479.56. Altogether, people who weren't doing any real work were getting three times as much out of the price of that car as the auto workers who produced it!

Remarkable!

These employer calculations show up the constant em-

ployer arguments about "high labor costs," "rising labor costs," "high wages cause high prices" and so on.

They also show something else, something basic.

They show that most of the fruits of what the auto workers produce are taken from the workers and divided up among the owners of property who contribute no labor to the production of autos. The receipts are divided among stockholders, bondholders, landlords, dealers, razzle-dazzle salesmen—among parasites of the production process, among leeches on the workers' labor.

They show that the auto workers are exploited by the capitalists.

We will look at that another way, in terms of Census statistics.

AUTO WORKERS ARE HEAVILY EXPLOITED

In 1968, the 676,000 production workers turned out 10,172,000 cars and trucks, plus spare parts. That comes to 15 vehicles plus spare parts per worker. At a retail average of $3,000 per vehicle that comes to $45,000 worth of car. That's more than five times the average wage—which came to $8,700 for a fully employed worker in 1968.

But part of the $45,000 consisted of raw materials, parts made outside the industry, electric power, etc. These were made by other workers.

A measure of what the auto workers produced is given by the Census figure of "value added by manufacture" (value of production less materials and power consumed). That amounted to $24,000 per production worker in 1969, or nearly three times the average wage. Part of the $24,000 should be subtracted for depreciation, and necessary clerical and engineering expenses. But still more should be added for the markup by distributors and dealers, which amounts to about $5,000 per year per production worker!

So the value created by each worker's labor averaged at least $24,000. He got paid $8,700. The difference, of more than $15,000, went to somebody else—to the employer. It is the measure of the amount by which the worker was exploited. Its scientific name is *surplus value*. George

Meany and some other trade union officials think that only workers paid substandard wages are exploited. But exploitation refers to the extra amount the worker produces over what he gets. It is what the boss takes for himself and his associates out of the worker's labor. All workers, therefore, are exploited, or their employers wouldn't stay in business.

As we see, auto workers are very much exploited indeed. They produce for others nearly twice as much as they get themselves.

And now we can answer the riddle: how is it that American auto workers, among the most productive workers in the world, do not make enough to support a family at a moderate standard of living?

We see that they produce enough to EARN not only a moderate, but a high standard of living. They don't make it because they are heavily exploited, because the employers get the bulk of what the workers produce.

We also see that no money wage gains the auto workers are likely to win can catch up to the huge amount of surplus value the companies are getting out of them. There is no danger of "breaking the companies" by winning "too much."

Even if the workers doubled their wages, the companies would still be getting a surplus value of $6,600 per worker.

HOW THE PROFITS ARE DIVIDED UP

General Motors reported net income of $1,731,914,777 in 1968. That huge amount equals $2,288 for each of the 757,000 people GM employed globally. That's a lot of profit per worker, but nowhere near the $17,000 per worker of surplus value for the entire industry.

How can General Motors, the most profitable of the Big Three, show such low profits per worker? The explanation is that the reported "net income" is only the cream on top of the total take, the total profit or surplus value extracted from the workers' labor. That total was divided up in a number of ways. About 35% of it went to General Motors stockholders, officials, and executives. Another 10%

went to bankers, either directly as interest, or concealed within the distributive markup. Another 15% went to General Motors dealers. And about 40% went to taxes, mainly to the U.S. Government, but also to state, local and foreign governments. Most of *that* was spent for the benefit of General Motors and other large corporations. For example, consider the spending for military and foreign activities which dominates the Federal budget. These outlays "open the door" for General Motors operations everywhere from Australia to Argentina, accounting for a large and rising share of General Motors profits. Hundreds of millions come back to General Motors directly in government orders.

The total surplus value produced by General Motors workers in 1968 was $9,831,000,000! Here is how it was divided up: (see also the chart)

Total General Motors Profits or Surplus Value, 1968
(millions of dollars)

Item	*Amount*
Net income as reported	$1,732
Interest, rents and royalties, paid mainly to bankers[1]	502
Salaries of officials and executives[2]	654
Bonus and stock option payments for officials and executives	111
Expense account gimmicks, advertising, lawyers' fees, accountants, lobbyists, Pentagon contract agent fees[3]	514
Rapid depreciation[4]	243
Distributive markup[5]	2,126
U.S. and foreign income taxes[1]	1,842
All other taxes, federal, state and local	2,107
Grand Total	$9,831

Source: General Motors Annual Report, 1968

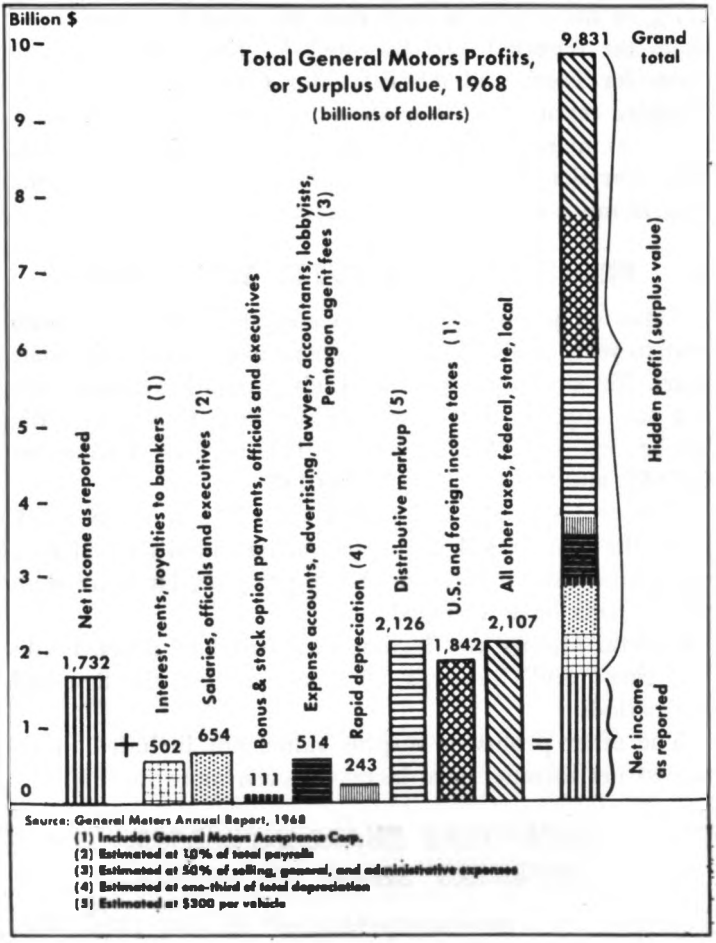
[1] Includes General Motors Acceptance Corp.

[2] Estimated at 10% of total payrolls

[3] Estimated at 50% of selling, general and administrative expenses.

[4] Estimated at one-third of total depreciation.

[5] Estimated at $300 per vehicle. Excludes transportation and other physical distribution costs.



Nearly ten billions of surplus value! The 626,000 General Motors production workers got total wages of a little over five billion dollars. Thus the surplus value was nearly twice as much as the wages paid, the same ratio for General Motors as for the whole industry. And the amount of surplus value per General Motors worker, $15,704, was

a little more than for the whole industry. Similar calculations show that each Ford production worker created $13,773 of surplus value, or 180% of his wages. Each Chrysler worker produced $12,984 of surplus value, or 177% of his wages. In each case, the total take was many times the reported "net income"—5.7 times for G.M., 7.5 times for Ford, and 8.8 times for Chrysler. Thus when Chrysler reported a sharp drop in "net income" in 1969, that was merely skimming the cream off the total take. The Chrysler workers were still being exploited to the tune of much more than their actual wages.

PROFITS DOUBLE EVERY TEN YEARS

Reported profits of the auto companies fluctuate from year to year, and Chrysler has even reported losses in some years. But over the long run, their profits have gone only one way—up. That is shown by five-year totals. The Big Three reported $5.9 billion for 1954-58, $8.3 billion for 1959-63, and $12.7 billion for 1964-68.

The profits in the last period were 2.15 times as much as in the first period, a decade earlier. That's equal to a compound rate of increase of 8% per year, far more than the workers have averaged.

General Motors' net income increased 2.09 times, Ford's 1.87 times, and Chrysler's 5.0 times, between the first and last periods.

The other profits or surplus value, not included in reported net income, have increased even more rapidly.

EMPLOYERS' SHARE INCREASES, WORKERS' SHARE DECREASES

How has the cutting up of the pie of auto production changed? We have seen that the employers and their associates get nearly twice as much as the production workers now. Does that represent an increase, or was it always cut that way?

The most reliable way of measuring the change in the shareout is to compare the change in physical productivity

per worker with the change in his real wages, expressed in dollars of constant purchasing power.

We have made that calculation for the entire postwar period. Here are the results:

Between 1946 and 1969 productivity per man-hour increased 124%, or at a compound rate of 3.6% per year. But in the same period real take-home pay per man-hour increased only 40%, or at a compound rate of 1.5% per year.

That is a snail's pace of gain for the workers in the most automated, speeded-up transportation equipment industry in the world. The employers always tell the workers to increase productivity if they want higher wages. Well, the workers certainly did increase productivity. And if they had received a proportional rise in real wages, their living standard would have multiplied 2¼ times in this period of a little more than two decades.

As for the shares of production—between 1946 and 1969, the volume of production per unit of real take-home pay increased 55%, or by more than half.

Taking it the opposite way, real take-home pay per unit of production decreased 35%, or by more than one-third.

In the division of the total product, in 1946 the employers got 53%, the workers 47%. The employers got more, but not so much more than the workers. But in 1969 the employers got 63%, the workers only 37%.

This has tremendous significance for auto workers.

When contract time approaches, there is much discussion of how much the companies can "afford." The UAW has sometimes claimed that all its demands could be met, and at the same time the auto companies could reduce prices. These claims are just, but do not go far enough.

In order to merely restore the same share of production they were getting in 1946, the auto workers would have to get an immediate raise of 55%—or $2.31 per hour. And even this would leave the companies with more than half of the values the workers produce!

The reality is that no conceivable set of gains the workers make will eliminate or reduce to small proportions

the huge surplus value generated by their labor, going into the pockets of employers in auto and other industries.

Only by projecting and successfully fighting for extremely far-reaching demands can the workers restore the relative position they had in the years immediately after World War II. Only by struggling for very bold demands can they get back the same "share of the pie."

And there is no reason why workers should stop there!

In 1970 some construction craft unions won immediate increases of as much as $3 per hour, and increases of as much as $5 to $6 per hour over a three year period.

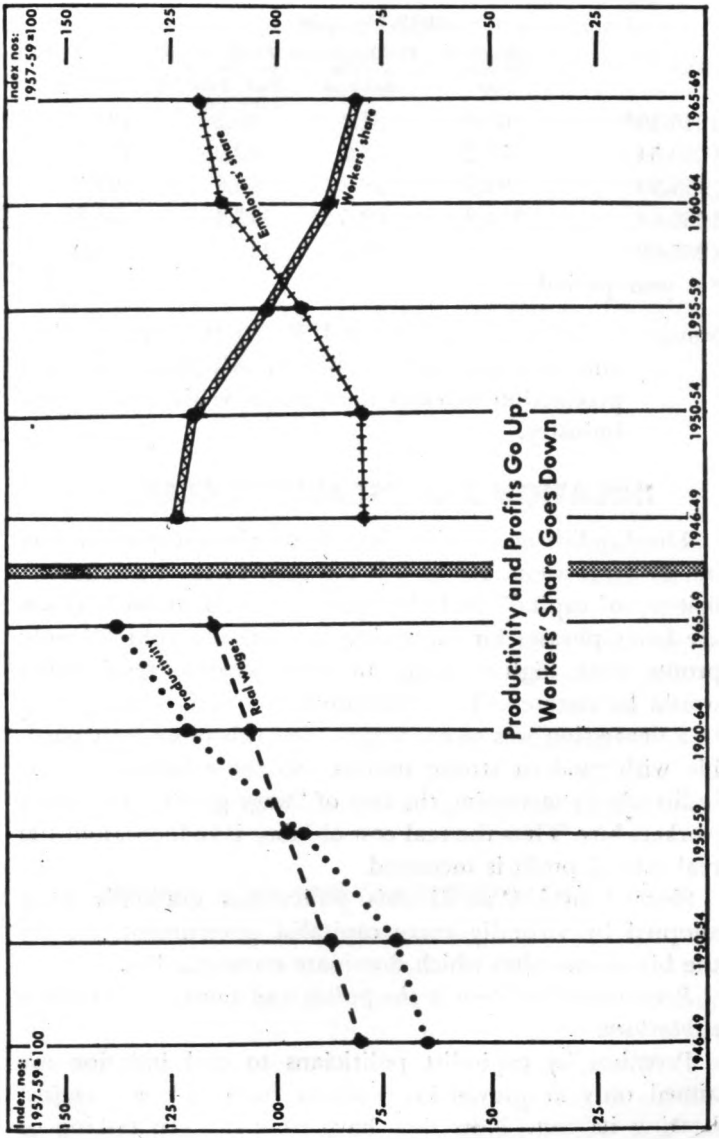
Gains like this would be completely "justified" for auto workers, in terms of productivity, living costs, and other customary standards. In fact, the employers do not limit themselves by any such standards. Their aim is to get as much as possible, to cut down the workers' share as much as possible. And the proper approach for workers, within this system of capitalism, is to get as much as possible, to combat the employers, to cut down their profit take as much as possible, to reduce the extent to which they are exploited as much as possible.

However, the facts about changes in production shares, about the billions in hidden profits, about the extent to which wages fall below budget requirements, are important. They are important weapons in the propaganda war that is part of every capital-labor struggle.

Our chart and table show changes averaged over five-year periods, to eliminate chance year-to-year fluctuations. This steady *trend* towards a larger company share, a smaller worker share, is what is important. Neither a claimed temporary drop in productivity, nor a claimed deficit on the books of an auto company, change the essential situation.

There is no danger that the workers will win so much as to "destroy the goose" that lays the brass eggs. There is only danger that union officials will be bluffed by such arguments into accepting too little, especially in a depression year. There is only danger that the general public—which consists overwhelmingly of working people—will be

taken in by employer hand-wringing and not give sufficient support to automobile workers fighting for significant improvements.



Productivity, Real Take-Home Pay and Comparative Indexes; Auto Industry—Annual Averages By 5 Year Periods, 1946-69; Index Numbers 1957-59=100

Period	Production per Man-hour	Real Take-home Pay Per Man-hour	Production per unit of Real Take-home Pay	Real Take-home Pay per unit of production
1946-49*	65.3	81.4	80.2	124.9
1950-54	73.2	88.2	82.9	121.0
1955-59	95.7	98.2	96.8	103.5
1960-64	123.3	108.5	113.4	88.3
1965-69	140.8	116.4	119.2	83.9

* 4 year period

Source: Calculated from data of U.S. Department of Labor and Federal Reserve Board. All data refers to production workers and motor vehicle and parts industry.

INFLATION AND ESCALATOR CLAUSES

The English economist, Keynes, sought a capitalist way out of depressions. He looked for ways to increase the "efficiency of capital" and the "propensity to invest." Those are fancy phrases for increasing the rate of profit. If only profits were high enough, thought Keynes, good times would be restored. The traditional way to increase profits in a depression was to cut wages. But this often isn't possible with modern strong unions. So the employers do it indirectly by increasing the cost of "wage goods"—the goods workers buy. Thus the real cost of labor is reduced, and the real rate of profit is increased.

Since World War II this policy has gradually been adopted by virtually every capitalist government and by the big monopolies which dominate economic life.

Permanent inflation is the policy and practice of modern captialism.

Promises by capitalist politicians to end inflation are aimed only at preventing workers from fighting against bearing its cost. Now they have stopped even talking of

ending inflation, only of "reducing" its rate.

So escalator clauses that provide for automatic wage increases in proportion to rising living costs have become an important protection for workers. Escalator clauses were included in auto union contracts beginning in 1948. When the Vietnam War began, the employers knew that inflation would become swifter, and got rid of escalator clauses wherever possible. In 1967 they maneuvered the auto union negotiators into accepting a "cap" on the escalator, which left workers with a possible cost of living correction of not more than 2% per year. Corporations in a number of industries succeeded in crippling or eliminating escalator clauses.

The lack of a full escalator clause is especially harmful to the real wage level in a three year contract. In 1967 the companies agreed that any additional amounts that would have resulted from continued use of the previous clause would be reflected in the 1970 settlement.

The workers should insist on full inclusion of this to be added onto the base from which negotiations for the next contract are started. Moreover, the workers should insist on retroactive pay of the money lost owing to crippling of the escalator clause.

The workers and the union have the power to enforce restoration of a full escalator clause. Moreover, it should provide for increases at a faster percentage rate than the consumer price index increases because that index does not go up as rapidly as prices actually increase, and because taxes, which are not included in the index, go up faster than prices.

OVERTIME AND THE SHORTER WORKWEEK

The most bitter and fundamental labor-management conflicts in American history have been over hours of work. Employers want to get the maximum number of hours of labor from each worker. In the auto industry the worker produces the equivalent of his daily wage in less than 3 hours. All the remaining 5 hours' production is at the employer's disposal. That's for an 8-hour day. But suppose

the employer can stretch the workday to 10 hours, for the same daily wages. Then he gets 7 hours' production free and clear, or 40% more than with an 8-hour day. Even if the employer pays time and one-half for the overtime, he will end up with 5 hours and 53 minutes' production as his profit, or nearly an hour's extra labor.

In three-quarters of a century of severe and often bloody struggle, American labor succeeded in gradually getting the standard workweek down from 6 days of 10 to 12 hours each, to 5 days of 8 hours each. This was accomplished by the mid-1930s.

But since then employers have reversed the process, and taken back part of labor's gain. In 1935-39 the average workweek in manufacturing was 37 hours. Thirty years later, in 1965-69, it was 42.5 hours. That's an increase of 15%, of 5½ hours per week, of 66 minutes per day.

It means the employers get about 25% more in surplus value, in production for which they do not have to pay wages.

The increase in the workweek has been wholly in overtime. It has become more and more the employers' favorite method of operation, even when there is high unemployment. Auto industry overtime averaged 2 to 3 hours per week in the late 1950s. Since 1964 it has averaged 5 hours per week, with a peak of 7.8 hours in December 1964. The *average* worker had to do almost an entire extra shift each week of that "holiday" month. Which means that many workers had to do two or more extra shifts a week.

Overtime is uneven. In some plants and shops the workers may be forced to work as much as six 12-hour days. This is the savage 72-hour week of the early industrial revolution, under the nerve-wracking, body-straining tempo of modern auto production lines and foundries.

Leonard Woodcock, now the UAW President, showed that in most weeks between August 1962 and March 1964, workers at four Ford assembly plants had to do 18 hours of overtime, with five 10 hour-days and 8 hours on Saturday. One week in Louisville the workers had to put in six 11-hour days.

"Sorry, Doc, I can't pay you. I slowed down like you told me to and lost my job."

During the Vietnam War years the situation has gotten still worse.

Employers like overtime despite the time-and-one-half rate, because:

- Fringe benefits, which are increasingly important, cost zero for overtime.
- Extra goods can be produced with the same plant and equipment, so there is a marked cut in capital cost per unit of production.
- Overhead expenses increase very little during overtime hours.

These advantages of overtime have increased in recent decades. Now overtime at time-and-one half actually cuts the per-car cost to the companies.

There is a still more fundamental advantage for employers. By making overtime habitual, they have created a situation wherein workers settle for base wage rates which give them *a required annual income only with 200-300*

hours of overtime included. Without that overtime, the workers would have insisted on a higher base wage. In effect, employers have maneuvered workers into yielding the overtime hours for nothing.

Membership pressure has caused inclusion of a shorter workweek in official bargaining demands of the UAW. Hitherto the leadership has never emphasized it, and quietly dropped it at the start of negotiations. The leadership has granted employers the right to impose compulsory overtime. This is what enables employers to impose life-shortening burdens on the workers. When these become unbearable and workers strike, it is "illegal," and the companies take reprisals.

This must end!

President Woodcock has said that compulsory overtime "infringes on the individual freedom" of the workers in the interests of "king efficiency . . . we just have to tell these companies, in the spirit of our youth, that the king is dead and we are going to bury him in 1970."

Bold words. The membership must insist that negotiators stick to this demand *unconditionally.* No contract may be signed without specifying that overtime is voluntary with each worker, without reprisal for refusal.

This will make it *impossible* for companies to impose 58-66 hour weeks, for lack of volunteers.

A further step, *which can be won promptly,* is to raise the overtime premium from time-and-one-half to double time. This was demanded as a federal law by the UAW in the early 1960s. But Congress will not pass, nor the President sign, such a law until it is won by the workers in struggle.

Even this is not the fundamental answer.

That is to force the ending of all overtime work, with a corresponding increase in pay. Thus workers would receive for 40 hours what they now get for an average of 40 straight hours and 5 overtime hours. That requires a straight-time wage increase of nearly 20%, in addition to wage increases negotiated on other grounds.

This will put auto workers back to the effective 40-hour

week they won during the 1930s. It will force employers to hire another 100,000 workers, sharply reducing unemployment in the industry. It will put pressure on employers to even out their production cycle to cut down on the insane alternation of shutdowns and super-charged overtime.

There is nothing "fated" about extreme seasonal, stylistic and inventory fluctuations in production. The most effective competitor to American cars is the Volkswagen "bug," which hasn't had a model change in over two decades.

But auto workers cannot be satisfied with restoring the 40 hour week first won a generation ago. Their super-high productivity makes the 30 hour week reasonable, and a logical goal for struggle. It is time to resume the interrupted progress of American labor towards an ever-shorter workweek. At each stage, of course, it must be accomplished without cuts in weekly wages.

This is the main route towards reducing the rate of exploitation of labor, towards increasing labor's share in production.

It means *a longer, healthier life.* A ten hour cut in the workweek can mean ten more years of life and health.

The struggle for a shorter week should always be NUMBER ONE in the catalogue of bargaining demands. Workers and leaders must be ready to fight for it with even more determination than employers show in constantly striving to lengthen the workweek.

A DANGEROUS INDUSTRY

There is much rightful concern with the danger to the public from auto accidents, auto exhaust pollution, etc.

But what about the auto workers, who face in addition the special dangers of work in an automobile factory? These dangers arise from speedup, from the refusal of the companies to take all plant safety measures, from their refusal to spend what is needed to eliminate poisonous fumes, excessive noise, and other health-damaging conditions.

According to Labor Department statistics, about 9,000 auto workers suffered disabling injuries during 1967. These

were not trifling. They include only injuries resulting in "death, permanent impairment, or temporary total disability." The average time lost was 56 days, or about two months.

The companies fail to report many injuries. They often settle privately with the injured worker, or arrange for him to "convalesce" on the job, to avoid having the accident count against them in determining workmen's compensation insurance charges.

But even the admitted level is intolerably high. *It means that one out of every eight production workers will be seriously injured or killed on the job in a ten-year period.* That's besides those whose lungs will be ruined by spray paint fumes, or by foundry dust, those who will go deaf from factory noise, those whose nerves will be shattered from the tension of speedup, supervisor bullying, and periodic layoffs.

Workers should insist on a requirement that the local union approve of safety and health conditions in each shop, with the employers to make necessary improvements promptly if work is to continue there.

FULL EQUALITY FOR BLACK WORKERS— AN ABSOLUTE MUST

There are nearly a quarter of a million Black auto workers today, and tens of thousands of Chicanos and Puerto Ricans. Their numbers have doubled in the past ten years or so. They are an important part of the UAW. There has been some improvement in the job pattern. Not *all* Black workers are in the worst jobs, and a few have better jobs. But the gains, like those won in past wartime conditions, are small and insecure.

Professor H. R. Northrup showed that in 1966 the Big Three had 121,000 Black workers in the three lowest job categories, but only 8,000 in the five better categories. Black workers were 20.3% of the operatives, 27.6% of the laborers, and 27.2% of the service workers. But they had only 3.0% of the skilled crafts jobs, 3.8% of the office jobs,

0.6% of the professional jobs, 1.2% of the technicians' jobs, and 1.2% of the supervisory and managerial jobs.*

These facts underline the charge made by Black workers that they are confined to the "HHHD" jobs—"Hot, Hard, Heavy, and Dirty."

The old saying about the bitter fate of Black workers—last to be hired and first to be fired—is still in effect. Northrup found that in the relatively mild 1967 cutbacks, *four out of five auto workers laid off were Black.*

A discriminatory seniority system consigns most Black workers to the second shift, going well into the night hours.

Plants are located where Black workers may not live. Northrup tells of an assembly plant 20 miles from downtown Detroit, with 26% Black employment. It "can be reached only by car travelling on a turnpike that bisects several all-white communities."* This puts added costs, added accident risks, added health strains, on Black workers. It keeps most Black women out of clerical jobs.

Who is to blame for such conditions? Fundamentally, the employers. The auto employers have a long history of racism. They have a long history of trying to incite racism among white workers, to divide the workers along race lines, to get white and Black to fight each other instead of the employers. And they have a long history of hypocritically pretending the opposite.

Henry Ford, Sr., boasted of his "friendship" for the Black people. In periods of labor shortage he increased his profits by picking the very strongest Black workers for the very hardest jobs, as in the foundries.

But later, in World War II, when Ford could no longer pick only one out of four Black applicants, the corporation became "disenchanted." It "ceased to employ Negroes," writes Northrup.* Ford set up and dominated for decades the city of Dearborn, which still bars Black residents.

In their southern plants Ford and General Motors maintained separate seniority systems, which limited Black

*H. R. Northrup, *The Negro in the Automobile Industry*, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1968.

workers to service and laboring jobs. In 1961 they were forced by law to abandon the separate systems formally, but they continued to follow the same practices. In 1966, only 9.7% of their southern workers were Black, and they were even more concentrated in the worst jobs than in the North.

The companies have geared tests for admission to apprenticeship programs to education in white schools, not in ghetto schools. The companies resist on-the-job training and upgrading, which gets around the discriminatory apprentice system.

The companies took severe reprisals against Black workers honoring the memory of the slain Martin Luther King, defending themselves against racist foremen, and otherwise upholding their elementary human rights.

If you want to see the true source of racism, look at the faces of the auto bosses, the millionaires, all those whose lush life is leached out of the labor of auto workers.

You won't see any Black faces at the Board of Directors meetings. Or at the exclusive social affairs of the auto aristocracy (except among those serving them). You won't see any Black faces at the dealers' conventions, or at the top management meetings.

Until recently, the General Motors Corporation refused to admit Black people into their special management training institute. Now a few token Black men have been admitted, as a few token Black dealers have been established.

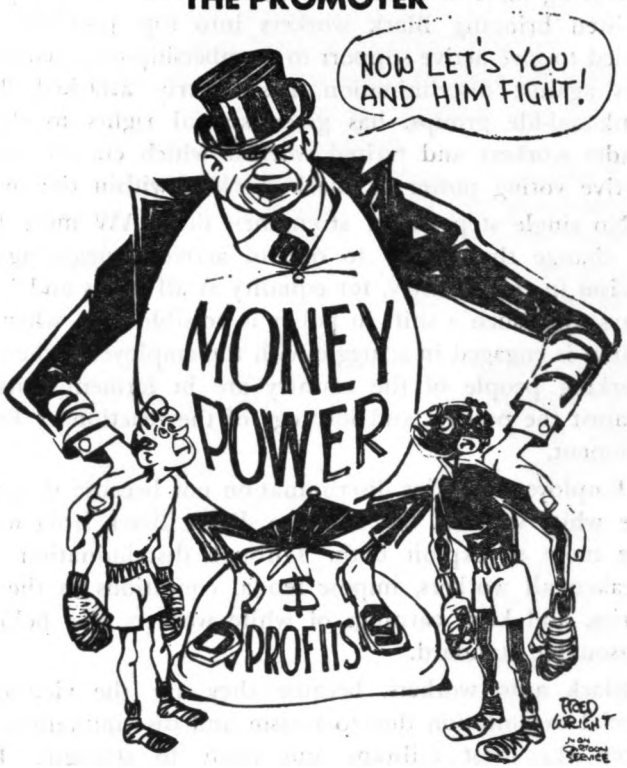
It is important to understand this. It is absolutely necessary for every worker to know that the employers lie when they say they are merely "yielding to popular prejudices."

They do everything to incite mass prejudice.

And it is the responsibility of white workers, above all, to combat prejudice and racism. It is the responsibility of white workers to be in the front line of the struggle of Black workers for equality.

The UAW has a major part to play in this. It has always been against discrimination, for fair employment practices, in general policy statements. It has helped that direction

THE PROMOTER



in some ways and to a certain extent. But never enough. Never nearly enough.

The Communists have always worked for a policy of Black and white unity within the union, a policy of struggle for the special needs of the Black workers.

Northrup writes that up to and during World War II, the UAW "strongly supported the demands of Negroes for expanded employment opportunities." This was due, he says, to the influence of the Left. But after World War II, playing along with Administration anti-Communism, Walter Reuther "swept his opposition out of office." Thus he reduced the "leverage" of the Black workers.*

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* Op. Cit.

During most of these decades, the UAW leadership has resisted bringing Black workers into top positions, has failed to give active support to membership-initiated struggles against discrimination, has bitterly attacked Black rank-and-file groups, has given special rights to skilled trades workers and retired workers which curtail the effective voting power of Black workers within the union.

No single step would strengthen the UAW more than to change that policy to one of active struggle against racism in the industry, for equality at all levels and in all ways. And such a shift in policy is possible now, when the union is engaged in struggle with the employers, when the working people of the country are in ferment, turning against the policies and ideology of the reactionary Establishment.

Employers practice discrimination not because they love the white workers, but so as to divide Black from white, the more to exploit both. Through discrimination they weaken all workers, impose feudal conditions in the factories, and keep earnings of white workers also below a reasonable standard.

Black auto workers, because they are the victims of special exploitation due to racism and discrimination, are often the most militant and ready to struggle. Real unity of white and Black workers has to be based on a program and on struggles which give priority to the special problems of Black workers. This will multiply the strength of all workers. It will ensure much bigger gains all along the line.

Here are the kinds of things that must be fought for in such struggles:

Skilled jobs and white collar jobs at all levels must be opened to Black workers. The companies must be required to spend whatever is required to train Black workers, where necessary, so as to attain a fair balance of employment by occupation within a short period.

Special provisions must be adopted to prevent the mass layoff of Black workers first hired during the Vietnam

War, and to provide full SUB benefits to those that are laid off. By whatever means, ways must be found to end forever the disgraceful "first to be fired" practice.

The best, for the long run, is the struggle for a shorter workweek, for a full employment program that will prevent unemployment for all workers.

The union must be called on to elect and appoint Black leadership at all levels at least to the full proportion of Black membership. This is necessary if the union organization is to be really sensitive to the special problems of Black workers, if it is to really get the full benefit of the fighting spirit of the Black workers.

White workers should join with Black workers in forming rank-and-file groupings to fight for full equality. Where these are lacking, the leadership and the white workers should support Black caucuses, which can expedite the struggle against discrimination.

The union should use its muscle to end social and political discrimination against Black workers. Strong methods should be used to open up all residential areas near auto plants to Black workers. This should include strikes and mass demonstrations in the lily-white communities. The union should insist on company-financed rapid transportation from ghetto areas to all plants.

Everything that is written here about Black workers goes for Chicano and Puerto Rican workers as well. A comparable program of struggle around the needs of the Chicano and Puerto Rican workers is also necessary.

END DISCRIMINATION AGAINST WOMEN WORKERS

The auto industry is one of the worst discriminators against women. Only 8% of all auto workers are women, as compared with 21% in durable goods, and 28% in all manufacturing. Only iron and steel, among really major industries, has a lower percentage of women workers than auto. Even the lumber and wood products group has a higher percentage. The few women workers are subjected

to severe wage discrimination. A Labor Department study showed that in auto parts plants in 1963, women assemblers, Class B, were paid 30% less than men assemblers, Class B. Large differentials applied also in every other category where both men and women worked. Black women workers are subject to special discrimination. They are kept out of clerical jobs in southern plants and restricted by conditions of residence and other factors in the north.

All jobs should be opened up to women, and wages equalized. The reduction in the workweek, abolition of speedup and improvement of health and safety conditions will make employment of women practical at many more stations. The companies should be required to provide day-care facilities for young children, and several months of pre-maternity and post-maternity leave with full pay, and without loss of seniority.

The increase in employment of women, the fight for their rights, the increase in female membership and leadership in the union, will greatly strengthen the union in direct conflict with employers and in the political life of the country and the communities where auto workers live.

SHOP CONDITIONS AND GRIEVANCES

During the early years of struggle to establish the UAW, the workers and the union showed their power daily on all issues that arose. When the workers had a grievance, their representative would try to settle it with the company. When no reasonable settlement was possible, the workers would fight the issue out on the spot, with a work stoppage if necessary.

However, the company security clause, introduced into the labor-management contract 20 years ago, gives the employers effective control over the workers' lives in the shop, and to a considerable extent outside of it. The key provision is the ability of the company to fire or penalize any worker without bringing or proving charges. The worker has to appeal from the outside. The grievance pro-

cedure takes forever, and is rarely decisive.

This clause and other rules give the employers virtually unlimited control over the speed of production and conditions affecting health and safety in the plants. Supervisors get away with bullying and insulting workers, and playing favorites. General Motors has imposed its notorious 46 shop rules, which include garnisheeing workers' pay for outside debts, and firing workers for non-payment of private bills.

The companies use the probationary period for new workers to operate a political blacklist. They check up with industrial espionage and FBI records. They arbitrarily fire all new workers who show signs of being militant shop leaders, or have records as active unionists or political progressives. They utilize the newcomers' fear of job loss as a lever for speeding up all the workers.

The companies' most powerful weapon of all is the no-strike clause. More than anything else, this is a license to the company to do anything it wants. It is clearly discriminatory and one-sided. The companies can and do start and stop production whenever they want. They shift it from place to place, often as a reprisal against particular groups of workers. Control of production, of hiring and firing, gives the companies means for pressing and squeezing labor day in and day out, the power to achieve the continuous increase in the rate of exploitation of labor.

Only by retaining and utilizing when necessary the right to stop production can the workers fight back. Workers are not trigger happy. They do not like to strike. But they must have the strike weapon available to counter the many weapons of the companies. They must be able to stand up to company pressure, and push their own demands, daily, and not only once every three years.

The union leadership must insist on abolition of the no-strike clause. It must give full support to all strikes and shop actions directed against the employers.

Grievances must be settled, for the most part, in the shop or department where they arise. For issues that go beyond the bounds of a shop or department, the company

must be required to live up to a speedy settlement timetable. It must hire sufficient personnel to live up to this schedule, and permit time off to sufficient shop stewards to handle grievances for the workers.

All company rules not relating to safety and order in the shop must be abolished. There is to be no company interference in the workers' outside lives, no garnisheeing of wages.

Arbitrary firing must cease. The union should insist that no worker may be discharged *until after the local union agrees that there is reasonable cause.* This must apply to new workers also. New workers must have full rights as workers, and be permitted to join the union, immediately. They must be probationary only in regard to their ability to cope with the work, and regularity on the job.

All work schedules, speed of lines, etc., must be negotiated between the management and the local union or its section in the shop. Work standards must be posted at every job.

Health and safety standards must be negotiated in a similar way. The companies must be required to spend whatever sums are necessary to eliminate excessive noise, fumes, dust, smoke, flying sparks from welding machines, cramped and crowded conditions. There should be 30 minutes of rest before and after lunch, and additional washup time. There should be enough relief and utility workers to allow time for physical needs. Additional relief and rest time should be provided for workers on heavy or dangerous jobs.

New contracts should provide for settlement of all outstanding local grievances before the overall contract is effective, but with new wage and other economic terms in operation pending such settlement.

AUTOMATION

The automobile industry is the classic industry of technical progress. It led in installation of continuous production and assembly lines. More recently it led in installa-

tion of multi-stage complexes of processing and transfer machines. It led in computer control of production lines. These latest steps in technical advance, known as automation, are particularly far-reaching in the substitution of machines for man.

Some people claim that automation will completely eliminate the need for human labor. This is not true. The facts are that the need for human labor increases, despite automation. The scale and variety of production requirements keeps pace with, and will always keep pace with, the productive capacity of society. However, uncontrolled automation can decimate the employment of labor in a given industry. That has happened, for example, in the coal mining industry. It could happen in auto. It has happened to thousands of auto workers, when their factories were closed down and production moved to newer, automated plants.

However, with proper policies, auto workers can do much to forestall this. The point is not to oppose technical progress as such. The point is to control it, to use it as leverage to win increases in wages, reductions in hours, and other concessions.

The point is not to limit wages by productivity. Employers insist that workers increase their productivity before they can gain any improvements in conditions. Often union leaders accept this argument, directly or in practice.

But workers cannot agree. The employer's objective is to get as much production as possible for as little pay. The worker's objective is exactly the opposite. That's inevitable in a society in which factories are privately owned for private profit, obtained by exploiting workers.

We have seen that auto workers are paid a pitifully small share of the values they create. The employers introduce automated plants not for social progress, but only because they expect to still further reduce the share of value going to labor.

A union program to control automation must strive to end the unilateral, unconditional power of the companies to introduce it. Every proposed technical change or im-

provement must be discussed well in advance with the union nationally, and in the shops directly involved. Agreements must be reached which provide for the re-employment of all displaced workers on satisfactory terms financially and geographically. The workers must be compensated for agreeing to the new technique through a shorter workweek, longer vacations, earlier retirement, and higher wages.

No new equipment should be permitted without prior agreement along these lines.

Employers claim that questions of investment and machinery are their sole prerogative. They formerly claimed that about wages and hours of work also. Only by struggle can the workers establish *their* prerogative. And the workers' right to control technical progress and all other conditions of labor is higher than the employers' right, because these factors directly and fundamentally affect the most crucial questions of the worker's life, while they only affect the rate of profits of employers.

Similar problems are caused by the shifting of production from old plants to newer plants, often located in small towns without a trade union tradition. The union must win the right to control all such moves. No shifts of production should be permitted without adequate notice, consultation and agreement by the union and the workers directly involved. Arrangements must be made for suitable re-employment of all workers in plants where production is to be abandoned or reduced, including terms for moving to the area of the new plant that are satisfactory to the workers.

AUTO COMPANIES AND HIGH FINANCE

The Big Three are among the largest spiders in the huge web of U.S. corporate capitalism. They are bound to the great accumulations of banking capital by massive financial ties. The banks have loaned over ten billion dollars to finance their expansion of production and distribution and takeovers of smaller firms. Through their trust de-

partments the banks are the largest stockholders of General Motors and Chrysler and exert corresponding influence.

J. P. Morgan and Co. and the National Bank of Detroit each have two directors in common with G.M. Chase Manhattan, First National City and the Mellon National each have one. The leading Morgan influence in G.M. affairs is of long standing. The Rockefellers also have a significant stake. Besides Chase Manhattan, the Rockefeller Foundation and Metropolitan Life have G.M. interlocks.

Chrysler has three directors in common with the Manufacturers Hanover Bank of New York, traditionally the leading factor, but when Chrysler got into financial trouble in the early 60s, a syndicate of the Rockefellers, the Hannas of Cleveland and the Mellons moved into the picture.

Since the Ford family turned most of its stock over to the Ford Foundation to avoid estate taxes, the Wall Street influence has increased. It has two directors in common with the First National City bank, traditionally its main Wall Street contact. It also has directors in common with J. P. Morgan & Co. and the Morgan-affiliated Bankers Trust Company. Another director and Ford's chief financial adviser is Sidney Weinberg of Goldman Sachs, the investment bankers.

Interlocking directorates and common banking ties connect the Big Three with virtually every major corporation in America. These connections strengthen the auto giants' monopoly position. Their financial ties enable them to set up thousands of dealers, the key to retail sales. And the dealers are firmly ruled by the manufacturers. Other links assure relatively cheap access to raw material and power. The political connections which accompany financial power pay off in federal, state and local tax breaks.

All three are substantial munitions producers, with a stake in the overblown military budget. But auto is NOT primarily a war industry. Its best gains and growth have taken place in peacetime.

The auto giants dominate the "independent" parts manufacturers. These get contracts only if they undercut the costs of the majors, which means, in effect, to exploit

their workers more through lower wages and more speedup. The extra surplus value they get out of the workers ends up in the pockets of the Big Three, through cut-rate prices paid for parts.

This makes the situation of parts company workers more difficult. Workers for the Big Three will gain by helping the workers of the independents to achieve and maintain parity of conditions with them.

The history of the American auto industry is studded with the bankruptcy of weaker firms, until today the entire industry is monopolized by four passenger car producers. Every time a company went under, thousands of workers suffered. Even the largest companies are parts of still larger financial-industrial empires. The controlling financiers are ready to sell them or scrap them any time they think they can use the capital more profitably elsewhere. The same millionaire families own shares, in different proportions, in all four.

The smallest producer, American Motors, was recently on the verge of extinction, and could go over the brink in any recession or depression. Chrysler got into a financial jam in the early 1960s and again in 1970.

The union should use its power to prevent any future mass dismissal of tens or hundreds of thousands of workers. It should insist that the Government take over and operate any auto plant abandoned by private owners. This demand can be enforced by union refusal to operate the plants of other companies if one company stops production.

UNION DEMOCRACY

The UAW is one of the more democratic unions in the United States. But that isn't saying too much, considering the iron-hand bureaucratic rule over many AFL-CIO unions. Serious weaknesses in structure and practice should be eliminated.

Retirees now have full voting rights on all questions in their old local unions. But they are no longer concerned about problems in the shop. They serve as a growing bloc of votes against change, militancy, and progress. This is

true no matter how progressive they were while still working. They have left behind the problems of speedup, discrimination, and health hazards. They have a new set of problems, new interests, a new role to play.

In many locals they are a balance-of-power bloc, manipulated to maintain unpopular, conservative, and even racist leadership in power. Local officials can ignore pressures from the rank and file so long as they can use the retirees.

And yet, retirees do have a practical, material interest, and a moral interest in the union's progress.

They should have a separate department in the union with locals having the same rights and powers as working locals. In that way they would have full authority over issues concerning them as retirees, and a fair voice in the general policies of the union. But they would no longer have a veto power over the choice of leaders and tactics by the workers in the shops.

Similarly, special veto rights for skilled craft sections should be ended.

These are changes in form. Even more significant are the required changes in the *spirit and substance* of union activity.

The move by the last convention to permit local union leaders to abolish local membership meetings is a big step in the wrong direction.

Exactly the opposite is required—to involve local union members in decision-making, and to empower them to act on issues of immediate concern. What is needed is not the end of meetings, but the end of routine meetings. What is needed is meetings which take up the members' problems, which give scope to their initiative, which mobilize the members for forceful action.

This, more than anything, will restore the full power of the union at the point of production, the point of conflict with employers.

The union leadership can and must be radically strengthened by election and appointment of Black members at all levels in at least full proportion to their membership. Any departure from this should be in the

direction of more-than-proportional representation.

This is because Black people have a long history of militant struggle against the power structure. This struggle against racism has taught them many lessons about the enemy. The Black workers in auto and in many other industries have been among the first to join the union, among the staunchest in standing up for the rights of labor. Their experiences in the shop have led to militant struggles, to a high level of understanding of the nature of the struggle, and the character of the employers. Black workers are generally less affected by employer-inspired illusions.

The special understanding by Black workers of the roots of conflict in the country and in the shop, the militancy on the side of progress of the Black workers, is a prime need in every union in the country. Thus the election of young militant Black leadership, including Black women, can only be in the all-around interests of all workers.

The same reasoning applies to Chicano and Puerto Rican workers and leadership in areas where there are substantial numbers of Chicano or Puerto Rican workers.

For much the same reasons, there should be an increase in the numbers of militant young white workers, and women, in the union leadership.

Communists played a major and in many ways decisive part in building the UAW in bitter struggle against the murder gangs of the employers, against the police, against Government intervention on behalf of the companies. Communists were especially successful in convincing the workers that they could organize, that they could win, even in conditions of mass unemployment and repression. When Communists were in the leadership, the union was more democratic, the rank and file had more power, there was a fight for equality and brotherhood between Black and white workers. They fostered traditions of democracy and equality which to this day retain influence within the union, and which can be brought to complete realization if the membership takes the necessary actions.

And one of the key actions is to end all discrimination

against Communists. The expulsion of Communists from UAW leadership, the FBI fingering and firing of rank-and-file Communist workers during the period of Cold War hysteria, did much to undermine progressive principles in the day-to-day operations of the UAW.

The anti-Communist clause which was used to keep Communists and other militant fighters against the companies out of leadership positions should be formally abolished. The workers must abandon and denounce red-baiting for what it is—along with racism, the oldest and most important anti-labor tool of the employers.

This applies not only to inner-union matters. The workers and the union must give full protection to those workers who are discriminated against, blacklisted, or subject to other company reprisals on account of political affiliation or belief.

Thousands of auto workers will become Communists, and make their contribution to the improved conditions of the membership, to steering the union towards new power and influence in the industry and in national affairs. This is an inevitable result of the radicalization now going on among the working people, and of the loss of illusions about the Government and Big Business. It should be welcomed, not opposed, by the present UAW leadership.

The Communists add special and needed ingredients to all workers' struggles—class consciousness and a revolutionary outlook. They show the ultimate solution to all the problems workers face as a class: a society completely controlled by workers, a socialist society.

The basic rule for corporation tactics in trying to increase the exploitation of labor is to push hard where the workers lack unity. Workers and union leaders who went along with anti-Communism helped the Big Three in this respect. White workers who went along with racism helped the employers create disunity.

This lack of solid unity, at all levels, helped the employers make gains at the workers' expense in recent years. It helped the employers reduce the real wages of

auto workers. It helped them speed up production. It helped them ignore grievances and fire militant workers.

Union democracy, along the lines here described, an all-out union struggle to end racist practices, a complete break with political discrimination against the left—these are the keys to achieving real unity. These are the keys to achieving the power that will bring major victories.

THE UNION AND NATIONAL POLICY ISSUES

The UAW plays a significant and positive role in the broad political life of the country. It has contributed much in money and energy to the election of more progressive candidates at all levels. It actively supports pro-labor legislation and opposes anti-labor legislation and executive actions. It has supported civil rights legislation, but has not done enough to advance the cause of Black political representation, or to aid in community struggles of the Black people.

The UAW leadership for many years supported the Big Business policy of militarism, anti-Sovietism, and the Cold War. The Establishment "rewarded" the leaders by calling them "labor statesmen". But the membership paid dearly for this, as they did for red-baiting, in anti-labor legislation, in the killing of drafted auto workers and auto workers' children, in a weakened labor movement, in economic losses, job hazards, reduced real wages, speedup and overtime. Never before has that been shown more clearly than during the Vietnam War, in which corporation profits have soared, but auto workers' real wages have declined 15%.

However, in recent years, UAW leaders have more and more come out for a policy of peaceful coexistence, and for the shifting of resources from the military to meeting the people's needs. This peace policy is in marked contrast to the Meany-Lovestone policy of all-out support to the most belligerent, reactionary cliques of the military-industrial complex.

There is no more important issue for labor as a whole than the fight for peace.

Yet, there is a serious weakness in the UAW attitude on this and other broad political questions. UAW actions generally consist of statements by its leaders, lobbying by its representatives in Washington, support of candidates in elections. These methods are good, but they realize only a tiny fraction of the union's potential power

That power lies in the organized, coordinated actions of the 1½ million members!

That power of the masses of auto workers has been brought into play on rare occasions, as in the struggle for civil rights legislation in 1963. Its effectiveness was amply proven on that occasion.

But this and other examples merely scratch the surface. Mass actions of American workers, under their union banners, can smash the attempts of the Nixon Administration to put over new anti-labor legislation. Such actions can *force* a reduction in taxes on workers, and a shifting of the burden to those able to pay. Such actions can *compel* an immediate, nationwide end of school segregation, with a resulting major improvement in the quality of education for all. And these actions can also bring rapid progress towards winning full economic equality for Black people and other minorities.

The U.S. Government at the end of World War II betrayed FDR's promise of a guarantee of full employment. Labor has always stood for a real full employment law, but has never used the muscle to get it. It can be won, as shown by the accomplishments of labor in some European capitalist countries, where layoffs are practically forbidden.

Mass labor actions can end the Vietnam War this year. They can cause the Administration to conclude far-reaching disarmament agreements with the Soviet Union. They can insure a radical cut in the military budget, and a multiplication of funds spent by the Government for the people's needs.

European and Japanese workers have significantly influenced policies with mass actions, including factory stoppages.

A one-day shutdown of production by millions of Ameri-

can workers would do more to change American foreign policy to a course of peace than a hundred speeches and resolutions.

The UAW, by virtue of its traditions, its size, and its strategic place in the economy, can play a leading role in developing mass actions on national questions of domestic and foreign policy.

The UAW has played a significant and positive part in election contests, national and state. But the possibilities of labor victories through electoral politics are limited so long as this is confined within the two traditional parties. Both of these parties are effectively owned and controlled by groups of big business, cliques of multi-millionaires, including the Big Three auto companies; by those whose fundamental class interests are opposed to those of labor. That is at the root of the frequent betrayals of campaign promises, betrayals by politicians selected and beholden to the big business interests which own the traditional parties.

For major gains in electoral politics, in the composition of Congress, in the kinds of people in the White House and State Houses—a new political formation is needed. It must be a people's party in which labor plays the leading role, in membership, in control, in financing, and in providing candidates for office.

The UAW should explore with other unions and other political groupings opposed to the big business Establishment the possibilities of helping to form and of supporting such a new labor-oriented and labor-based political formation.

THE IMPORT PROBLEM

American auto production and employment is being chipped away by rising imports and declining exports. Up to 15 years ago exports added 5% to domestic sales, plus substantial exports of parts for overseas assembly. Imports were trivial. Since then exports have shrunk, while imports have soared. In 1969 a record 2 million vehicles, equal to one-fifth of domestic output, were imported. Exports totalled only 4% of production. Imports increased further

in 1970, while domestic production declined. During the first half of 1970, imports equalled about one-fourth of domestic production, and about thirty percent of domestic passenger car production.

Over 200,000 jobs in the U.S. automobile industry have been lost on account of the negative shift in the trade balance in cars.

"SO LONG... PARTNER!"

Rising imports result from the trend towards unification of the capitalist world market, from rapid gains of other countries in output and productivity, and from the policy of American big business.

That policy is to export capital instead of goods. It is a central feature of modern imperialism. Through foreign investments corporations derive superprofits from the labor of workers in countries where wages are lower. American corporations have exported more capital than those of all other countries combined. Their total foreign investments multiplied six times since the end of World War II, and their foreign properties now turn out over $125 billion of products each year.

U.S. corporations can make these profitable foreign investments *fundamentally* because of the military power of the United States, the establishment of U.S. bases throughout the capitalist world, and the use of that power to blast open positions for U.S. capital. The power is used, wherever possible, to overthrow governments which resist U.S. capital.

Military power is not enough in dealing with the industrialized capitalist countries. There deals are necessary with local big business. The main deal is to let them send their manufactured goods here in exchange for letting U.S. companies exploit their workers.

This trade-off is particularly important for auto companies, whose main foreign investments are in highly developed countries. Ford increased the foreign share of its production from 20% in 1957 to 33% in 1969, G.M. from 17% to 24%, and Chrysler from zero (except for assembly of U.S.-made knockdowns) to 34% in the same period. Years ago Kaiser stopped making cars in the United States but continued making them abroad. Chrysler could make the same decision, as the way out of a financial jam.

More and more U.S. companies are marketing their foreign-made cars in this country as well as abroad. Last year over 40% of all imports, and 10% of imports from overseas (as distinct from Canada), were of cars made by U.S. companies. The percentage is growing rapidly.

This year Chrysler has agreed to import and sell Colt autos made by Mitsubishi Motors Corp. in exchange for a 35% share in the Japanese company. General Motors will import a new sporty Opel from its West German

plant, in competition with its own compact Vega. Ford is engaged in far-reaching negotiations with Toyo Kogyo of Japan, which features "all-out cooperation in placing Toyo Kogyo's small autos on its sales network in the U.S.", according to a report in the Japan Economic Journal.

Besides whole cars, U.S. auto companies are increasingly buying and manufacturing components abroad, to take advantage of lower wages. This applies both to the independents and the majors.

Ford leads all the others in development of component production in Japan. It has set up a joint company with two of the three largest Japanese auto makers to manufacture automatic transmissions. The plant will employ 700 workers who will produce 15,000 transmissions per month to begin with. Ford will get a royalty of 5.55% on sales, plus 50% of all profits.

Each worker will have a gross output of 250 transmissions per year, equivalent to a U.S. retail value of $50,000. That is equal to 20 times the annual wage of a Japanese worker.

Obviously this highly productive operation can potentially displace much of U.S. production of automatic transmissions. It can also lead to increased imports of whole cars, equipped with automatic transmissions.

In addition, Ford is engaged in major purchases in Japan of car cooler compressors, bearings, auto diodes, auto pumps, auto condensers, auto shield beams, malleable casting and forging steel, and crankshafts. Starting with small purchases, it is moving ahead to huge long-term contracts. For example, Ford now wants to buy from Diesel Kiki Co. compressors exceeding the firm's capacity, and is asking the Japanese firm to build a new factory and become its subcontractor.

Japanese observers say that Ford's moves in Japan are so broad in scope "as to lead eventually to creation of what could be dubbed as 'Ford Heavy Industries' in Japan in the future."*

* Japan Economic Journal, May 12, 1970.

In the long run, the U.S. auto companies could follow the example of the U.S. radio and TV makers, and reduce their U.S. operations to little more than distribution of foreign-made products, and corporate headquarters for controlling and collecting the profits made by exploiting workers abroad.

What can auto workers do to prevent the export of more hundreds of thousands of jobs?

What about restricting imports?

That course offers little hope. It hasn't worked in any other industry. It is least of all likely to work in autos. The U.S. auto manufacturers, because of their close ties with foreign corporations and with the influential Wall Street financial groups, are not likely to press for any significant restriction of imports. They are too much involved themselves in the deals of exchanging imports of goods for export of capital. Moreover, if U.S. auto workers concentrate their fire on imports, they put themselves in competition with foreign auto workers, instead of in cooperation with them.

The only useful strategy for U.S. auto workers is to establish the closest cooperation with the auto workers of other countries, for joint combat with the allied monopolies of the capitalist world.

The UAW generally follows such a policy. It especially encourages attempts of workers in other countries to establish uniform conditions of work. This policy should be extended along these lines:

1. Increased cooperation between unions of American and foreign auto workers, with special emphasis on rank and file contracts of auto workers of different countries. These relations should include the unions and auto workers of socialist countries, who have achieved certain types of gains unknown to American workers.

2. Assistance to auto workers in other capitalist countries to equalize conditions in every possible respect. The fact is that auto workers in other countries are winning much faster wage increases than American workers, but

the gap remains substantial.

3. Joint actions of workers of the multinational corporations for shorter hours, higher wages, improved conditions all along the line, with a perspective of international joint contract negotiations, strike actions, etc.

European Community, a West European magazine, reported in its January, 1970 issue:

"Union leaders representing automotive industry workers from 14 European countries last month agreed on a new policy of close cooperation to narrow differentials between wages paid in different countries and to protect each other when necessary during strikes.

. . . the delegates expressed concern with the growing concentration of the automotive industry in a few hands and the high degree of American penetration of the market. The car workers plan to develop concerted union action on the European level to iron out present inequalities in pay and conditions and extend democracy to the shop floor.

. . . they will try to ensure that for instance Ford workers all over Europe earn the same in relation to their countries' cost of living levels. The object, apart from improving wages, is to ensure that international companies do not run down plants in one country and build up plants in a cheaper labor market. The unions also agreed that they would try to stop companies from transferring work from one country to another during strikes."

This conference, organized by the International Metal Workers Federation, was the first of its kind.

The UAW has a place in such conferences, provided it acts as an equal, and not as "big brother" from the United States. Ultimately, joint actions could develop, so that production could not be moved from one country to another without the prior agreement of all the workers concerned.

EAST-WEST TRADE

Besides encouraging the international runaway shop, the

U.S. Government prevents the growth of auto exports where they are wanted.

That is to the socialist countries. In the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe auto and truck production is increasing faster than in any other world area. There are still only a fraction of the vehicles needed in the USSR, with its vast land area, 2½ times that of the United States.

French, British, Italian, and Japanese auto, machinery, and steel workers are employed in the hundreds of thousands, filling major contracts for cooperation in developing the auto industry and making vehicles and parts for export to the socialist countries.

That business is open to U.S. companies too. Ford played the leading part in helping establish the first big Soviet automoblie factories in the 1930s. It was a very big and profitable deal. In 1970 the USSR offered Ford a deal in hundreds of millions of dollars for a giant truck manufacturing complex. Thousands of trucks would be exported, in addition to huge machines, and components for trucks for years to come.

The Nixon Administration, following its rabid anti-Communist course, torpedoed the deal. The Soviet Union will not lose a truck. West German, French, and Japanese companies are competing eagerly for the contract turned down by Ford. Only American workers, the Ford Motor Company, and the American balance of payments will lose.

The United States still refuses to trade with Cuba, which formerly was the best Latin American market for cars. It can be a major market again, if we resume the trade of machinery and manufactured goods for Cuban sugar. Meanwhile, Cuba buys its vehicles in Europe.

Most American business firms would like to trade with socialist countries, and most large companies do. However, because of U.S. Government restrictions, the business is done mainly by foreign subsidiaries. The companies get profits from that trade, but American workers do not get jobs from it.

U.S. big business cannot be relied on to take decisive action to break down the barriers to trade with socialist

countries. After all, big business authored and sponsored the anti-communist policy which lies at the root of American trade practices.

Hitherto, American labor generally has kept quiet on the matter, for fear of being tagged with a "red" label, for fear of denunciation by Meany and Lovestone, those agents of the far right within the American labor movement.

But it is time for American unions to take an independent position on this, as on other foreign policy issues. Unions would not think of being satellites of big corporations on domestic policy issues. They should stop being big business satellites on foreign policy issues.

Labor initiative can break down the barriers to East-West trade. No union has more of a stake in opening up that trade than the United Auto Workers.

Much the same considerations apply to U.S. trade with developing countries. Auto workers should seek the end of Washington's policy of intervention in the "Third World," its attempts to keep in power reactionary governments, and to keep these countries dependent on U.S. capital, with a minimum development of their own industry and living standards.

Freedom from bondage to foreign capital and military dictators will permit the countries of Asia, Latin America and Africa to develop modern industry and agriculture. In the process, a big new market for vehicles will be created. The United States can have a large share of that market, if labor turns our foreign policy around from one of domination to one of cooperation.

Policies such as these can help to meet the import situation.

However, the overall problem of international competition, with its impact on U.S. employment, cannot be fully solved under capitalism. For that, socialism is required. Then there will be a Government monopoly of foreign trade, as well as the nationalization of major industries. Foreign trade will be adjusted into a national plan for maximum output, rising living standards, and full employment.

OUR PROGRAM

Here are all the points of our program, explained in the earlier sections of this pamphlet:

1. Wage increase of $1.50 per hour this year, and $1.50 per hour additional for each succeeding contract year.
2. Full cost-of-living escalator, covering taxes as well as prices.
3. End compulsory overtime immediately.
4. Double time for overtime.
5. Maximum workweek of 35 hours with no overtime permitted by 1975, 30 hours by 1980. Proportionate increase in hourly wages, besides regular increases, every time standard hours are cut.
6. Voluntary layoffs for older workers with SUB. "Thirty and out."
7. End the no-strike clause.
8. End company security clauses.
9. No worker to be discharged until after the local union agrees that there is reasonable cause. This applies to probationary employees also.
10. All grievances to be settled within one week. Enough company-paid worker-selected stewards to process all grievances. Failure of company to negotiate within a week automatically requires concession of worker's claim.
11. End all shop rules not directly required for plant safety and health.
12. Black workers to attain proportional employment at all skill levels, including white collar, within 2 years, with company paying all necessary training costs.
13. Full union support to workers subject to discrimination by company supervisors and bureaucracy.
14. No layoffs of Black workers beyond their proportion in total employment.
15. Union-backed mass action of auto workers to smash segregation and discrimination in communities near auto plants.
16. All jobs open to women, and wages equalized.

17. All work schedules, speed of lines, etc., must be approved by the local union and the section in the shop.

18. All health and safety standards must satisfy the local union and the section in the shop. No work where standards are not met.

19. All proposed technical improvements, new plants and processes, subject to advance approval by the national and local union.

20. No plants to be shut or permanently curtailed without union agreement. All workers in such plants must remain on payroll until company finds equal or equivalent employment for them.

21. Assistance to auto workers in other countries to equalize conditions in every respect.

22. Increased cooperation with auto workers' unions in all countries, including socialist countries.

23. End discrimination against trade in automotive products with socialist countries.

24. End government financial, diplomatic, and military assistance to overseas runaways and joint ventures of U.S. auto companies.

25. At least 30% representation for Black workers at all union leadership levels.

26. An unconditional end to anti-Communist clauses and practices in the union. Full union support to all workers subjected to political persecution or blacklisting by companies or government.

27. Direct voting for all union officers. End abuses of retiree voting rights and special skilled craft veto rights.

28. Department meetings and shop meetings as well as local meetings. Flexible agendas and procedures to deal with real problems; not a rigid routine.

29. Involve locals and membership in studying problems and decision making at all levels.

Auto workers also have a vital interest in fully supporting the general program of the Communist Party, which is good for all working people.

Its central points are:

1. Peace, end of all foreign wars and interventions, radical cut in armaments.

2. Budget reform, with massive federal spending for the surging social needs of the working people.

3. Tax reform, to shift over $100 billion of federal, state, and local taxes from workers to capitalists, from poor to rich.

4. Democracy, especially the complete end of racist practices and ideology, the substitution of people's political parties and people's government power for millionaires' parties and power.

5. Socialism—the only way to permanent prosperity, rising living standards, security, equality, freedom, and peace for the working class.

AUTO WORKERS AND SOCIALISM

American workers have won gains in living conditions and rights as human beings over the past 40 years. But these gains are small, in comparison with the needs and possibilities. And they are insecure.

None of these gains were granted by the benevolence of the auto monopolies. None were won through the kindly intervention of the Government. All were the fruits of bitter, often costly struggle by the workers themselves. All can be taken away by the employers and the government, if workers relax their vigilance. Company contracts and concessions were won through long years of union-building, history-making sit-down strikes, repeated industry-wide strikes and innumerable local "quickie" strikes and job actions.

Government legislation was won as a by-product of these struggles, as well as through direct labor political action.

But the factories remain in the hands of hostile monopolies, which continuously strive to enforce a feudal rule of iron on the workers. The Government remains in the hands of billionaires and their political spokesmen, who pass anti-labor laws and use the power of the police, the courts, the Army and the executive bureaucracy on behalf of the monopolies.

In sum, the U.S. remains a capitalist country, a country of monopoly capitalism with all the evils that flow from that.

Capitalist economy continues to be subject to up and down cycles, to sudden layoffs depriving tens and hundreds of thousands of auto workers of their jobs, to radical shifts in structure and foreign trade, wiping out whole industries. The Government of monopoly capitalism continues to increase the taxes taken from workers and to use that money to subsidize big business.

The corporations and their Government continue to act according to the laws of modern imperialism. The companies strive to lay their hands on the resources of the entire world and the labor of all the world's people. The Government, acting on their behalf, strives to conquer and occupy more and more of the globe, using American workers and their sons as cannon fodder in the process. The U.S. Government and big business continue to give priority in government spending to the buildup of military power, interest payments to the big bankers and a variety of subsidies to big business—always at the expense of social expenditures which become more and more urgent. The central theme of big business and Government policy is opposition to socialism and Communism—for the ultimate military annihilation of those peoples which have succeeded in abolishing capitalism and building a socialist society.

That is the reason, and the only reason, why there is dreadful danger of a new world thermonuclear war, that could annihilate us all.

But socialism grows more successful, prevails in more and more countries, not because of some sinister plot. Socialism moves forward because it is the social system that is required of and in harmony with the collective, socialized production of hundreds of thousands of workers made inevitable by modern techniques and science.

In the General Motors Corporation, millions of tons of steel are procured, thousands of parts and components ordered and purchased in exactly calculated quantities and at specified times, hundreds of thousands of workers labor

in scores of factories in a dozen countries. All this is coordinated according to a single plan.

In addition, orders are collected from thousands of dealers, linked by computer with the assembly line, and cars are shipped out all over the globe according to this same plan.

New plants are constructed, machinery ordered, new materials used, new models designed, in accordance with shifts in population, research and engineering developments—again all coordinated in a single plan and linked with the financial resources of the corporation and its associated banks.

All this constitutes an advanced stage of the *socialization of production.*

Each company does the same. But there is no overall national coordination. The only goal of all this is more profits. People's needs are ignored.

Private ownership and control over this socialized process, its perversion for private profits, has become a sociological freak—monstrous and destructive.

Lenin, the leader of the first successful socialist revolution, wrote of this socialization of production in the case of the Standard Oil trust—and his words apply equally well to the present-day auto trust—and concluded:

"Private economic and private property relations constitute a shell which no longer fits its contents, a shell which must inevitably decay if its removal is artificially delayed, a shell which may remain in a state of decay for a fairly long period, but which will inevitably be removed." That shell can only be removed, however, by the workers of a given country, by carrying through a socialist revolution and becoming the leading political force in the country.

Under socialism big industry is owned by the entire people. The ownership and direction of industry comes into harmony with the social character of its operations. Working people, in control of the government and the economy, guide it in accord with the economic laws of socialism.

The fundamental aim of a socialist economy is to provide the fullest satisfaction of the people's needs, to ensure a continuously rising standard of living. And this is done through a single central plan with that aim in view, not through the plans of separate monopoly combines, often in conflict with one another, and always directed against the working people.

Under socialism, full employment is guaranteed.

Under socialism, every man has the right to all the education and training he can absorb.

Under socialism, national equality is absolute and racism is a crime.

Under socialism, the needs of the people in health services, recreation, housing, security in old age, are fully met by the Government without charge or with nominal charge.

Under socialism, gains in productivity are divided, at the nationwide collective choice of the workers, between shorter hours and higher pay.

Under socialism, there is no drive for foreign investment nor foreign military bases. Every incentive is to minimize military spending and all other wasteful activities. Every cent thereby saved can be spent for housing, schools, hospitals, nurseries. In the USSR, the first country of socialism, tremendous advances were made in living and social conditions of the workers despite unprecedented destruction of life and property in two World Wars and a long civil war, despite having to spend heavily to match the military threat first from Hitler Germany and then from the Pentagon.

In the USSR 14 nations and scores of smaller nationalities live in complete economic, political, and social equality. These are people of different colors, cultures, and modes of life. Before socialism there were wide gaps between them, and most were oppressed. Under socialism, equality was reached quickly, by raising the standards of those formerly oppressed faster, and not at the expense of any other people.

The Soviet Union is the first country in history to achieve genuine, complete equality of peoples.

The Soviet Union pioneered for the workers of the whole world in:

- establishing a shorter work week;
- setting and reaching the goal of full employment;
- organizing a planned, crisis-free economy;
- achieving new high rates of growth in production and living standards;
- realizing cradle-to-grave social security;
- providing universal free medical and health care;
- offering education at all levels to working people, with stipends for students;
- involving production workers in planning and management of industry;
- having a working-class party in power, with workers and farmers in the highest offices in the land and forming a majority in national and local parliaments.

In many capitalist countries workers have achieved social gains as concessions granted under the pressure of the Soviet example.

In this country some companies in generally unionized industries have managed to keep the union out by almost matching the gains won by workers under union contract. That happens also in some capitalist countries for periods of time, in relation to socialist countries. But inevitably there comes a break, when the workers in socialist countries continue to advance, while the monopolies in the capitalist countries stop making concessions and crack down on the workers.

Under socialism in the U.S. gains can be broader and much more rapid than they have been anywhere else. Labor productivity in America is the highest in the world and the gap between workers' production and their wages is wider than in most countries.

With socialism in the U.S. there will be no longer a capitalist power strong enough to threaten world peace. Military spending can be reduced to near zero. The vast sums now spent for such purposes can be used to provide *rapidly* all of the housing, educational facilities, medical

care, and other social needs of all the people.

With socialism in the U.S. there will be no private corporations profiteering from overtime and speedup. A four day week or a six hour day will be an immediate practical possibility.

With socialism in the U.S. there will be no exploiters making an extra thirty billion dollars a year from the special oppression, poverty, and discrimination against Black, Spanish-speaking and Indian peoples. With full employment and unlimited opportunity for advance to each individual, there will be no basis for national job rivalries, no grounds for racists to use to incite chauvinism among white workers, no obstacle to complete equality for Black workers, in every sense of the word. There will be no landlord-banking clique to profit from segregated communities and Black workers will be able to live in any community of their choice.

Anti-communism has been the main weapon of big business to split the working class, wage wars, impose a militarized economy, inflation and high taxes, racism and repression. Anti-communism put over the Taft-Hartley Act, the Landrum-Griffin Act, restored anti-strike injunctions. Anti-communism expelled from the auto industry the outstanding rank-and-file workers and leaders in the historic struggle to build the union and win gains for the auto workers. Anti-communism made the political career of the man who has become the worst anti-labor president in 40 years, Richard M. Nixon.

The more the workers defeat anti-Communist propaganda and racist propaganda, the more the workers will achieve unity among themselves. They will have multiplied strength for the present-day fight against the corporations, and tomorrow's struggle for socialism. With such unity, it will be more difficult for big business to resort to violence against labor, it will be more possible to accomplish the socialist revolution relatively peacefully.

The Communist Party consists of workers who are

committed to this way of thought, to this program of struggle. Every gain of the workers is our gain. Every defeat of the workers is our defeat. Readers who agree with the views of this pamphlet and wish to participate in our struggle are invited to inquire about and join the Communist Party.

For our complete program and other information, write to:

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